



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME  
2008 TRIMESTER 2**

**POLS/PHIL/INTP 261: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
CRN: 1297/1015/15293**

**Lecturer:** Dr Xavier Márquez  
**Room:** Murphy 541  
**Phone:** 463-5889  
**Email:** Xavier.marquez@vuw.ac.nz

**Lecture Times:** Wednesday and Friday 9:00-9:55 AM

**Venue:** Murphy LT220

**Course Wiki:** <http://internationalpoliticaltheory.wikispaces.com> This course outline, with additional details and fully hyperlinked, is posted there.

**Office Hours:** Wednesdays 2-4pm. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

**Tutorials**

Tutorials will be scheduled during the first week of the term.

The following times are available so far:

Tutorial group 1: T 13:10-14:00 KK203

Tutorial group 2: T 14:10-15:00 KK203

Tutorial group 3: W 11:00-11:50 MY531

Sign up in the wiki for the most convenient time for you. Any changes to the tutorial programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the course wiki.

**Additional Information**

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures, e-mailed to the class, and posted on the course wiki.

**PLEASE NOTE: TUTORIALS WILL COMMENCE IN THE SECOND WEEK OF TERM**

**Course content**

This course aims to introduce students to the development of Western ideas about international affairs. It explores such themes as the justice or injustice of war, the nature of sovereignty, international law and the place of power in international life, and ethical obligations across borders, through a broad historical survey of some of the classic texts of Western political theory. The course thus aims to provide students with a basic grasp of the ideas that have shaped and continue to shape current thought and practice in international

relations, while increasing their ability to interpret and critically engage with these ideas in context.

The course follows a broadly chronological discussion of ideas about international affairs in the Western tradition of political thought, starting with Ancient Greece and Rome, moving on to discuss Medieval and Renaissance ideas, the Enlightenment, and various thinkers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The chronological approach should help students understand the sources of our current ideas about international affairs as well as some important challenges to these ideas that have been historically significant.

These ideas, however, are also thematically grouped. We will thus discuss ancient Greek ideas about the nature of politics, medieval ideas about just war, new conceptions of politics in the early modern era, and 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas about democracy and intervention and about the possibility of perpetual peace.

Lectures will place this material in historical context, explain some of the more difficult passages, and provide the intellectual scaffolding for making connections among these disparate thinkers and applying their ideas to concrete cases. However, students are expected to actively participate in the construction of their own knowledge of these ideas by taking part in class discussions and activities, during both the lectures and the scheduled tutorials.

### Schedule of Lectures

Wednesday 9 July	Introduction. Read 'Introduction', pp. 1-15 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Friday 11 July	<b>Ancient Conceptions of Politics.</b> Thucydides, pp. 34-60 in Brown <i>et al.</i> ; 'Ancient thought', pp. 17-23 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Wednesday 16 July	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Book 1 (1252a1-1260a25); 'Ancient thought' in Brown <i>et al.</i> , pp. 23-27, 30-32.
Friday 18 July	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Book 3, chapters 1-8 (1274b30-1280a6)
Wednesday 23 July	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Book 3, chapters 9-18 (1280a7-1288b7)
Friday 25 July	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i> , Book 7, chapters 1-15 (1323a14-1334b27)
Wednesday 30 July	Cicero, <i>Republic</i> I.31-71 (pp. 15-32); Cicero, <i>On Duties</i> I.vii-xviii (sections 20-60); 'Ancient thought,' pp. 27-30 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Friday 1 August	<b>Just War in Medieval Political Theory.</b> Aquinas, <i>Summa Theologiae</i> , II-II, Q 40; II-II, Q 64, articles 6-8; pp. 213-220 in Brown <i>et al.</i> ; 'International relations in Christendom', pp. 183-186 in Brown <i>et al.</i> <b>First essay opportunity: Conceptions of Politics in Ancient Political Thought Topics</b>
Wednesday 6 August	Vitoria, <i>On the American Indians</i> , pp. 231-241 in Brown <i>et al.</i> ; Erasmus, <i>Dulce Bellum Inexpertis</i> , pp. 221-230 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Friday 8 August	<b>New Conceptions of Politics.</b> Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> , chapters 1-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15-19, 21, 24-26; 'The modern European state and system of states', pp. 243-247 in Brown <i>et al.</i> <b>Second essay opportunity: Just War in Medieval Political Thought Topics</b>
Wednesday 13 August	Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> discussion continued and <i>Discourses on Livy</i> , I.2-14
Friday 15 August	Machiavelli, <i>Discourses on Livy</i> , I.16-20, 24-29, 53, 58, II.1-3
Monday 18 August	<b>Mid-Trimester Break begins</b>

	<b>Third essay opportunity: New Conceptions of Politics</b>
Wednesday 3 September	<b>The State of Nature.</b> Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , chapters 13-14, 17-18, 21. See also 'The modern European state and system of states', pp. 247-250 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Friday 5 September	Rousseau, <i>Second Discourse on the Origins of Inequality</i> , part I.
Wednesday 10 September	Rousseau, <i>Second Discourse on the Origins of Inequality</i> , part II; <i>The State of War</i> (pp. 416-425 in Brown <i>et al.</i> ).
Friday 12 September	<b>Democracy and Intervention.</b> Mill, <i>Considerations on Representative Government</i> , chapters 3-4; 'State and nation in nineteenth-century international political theory', pp. 462-465 in Brown <i>et al.</i> <b>Fourth essay opportunity: The State of Nature topics.</b>
Wednesday 17 September	Mill, <i>Considerations on Representative Government</i> , chapters 6-7.
Friday 19 September	Mill, <i>Considerations on Representative Government</i> , chapters 16 and 18, Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," pp. 476-493 in Brown <i>et al.</i>
Wednesday 24 September	<b>Perpetual Peace and Modern Cosmopolitanism.</b> Kant, <i>Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch</i> , pp. 428-455; 'The Enlightenment', pp. 387-393 in Brown <i>et al.</i> <b>Fifth essay opportunity: Democracy and Intervention topics</b>
Friday 26 September	Hegel, <i>The Philosophy of Right</i> , III.iii.a.i-III.iii.c (paragraphs 272-360, especially 321-360); 'State and nation in nineteenth-century international political theory', pp. 457-467.
Wednesday 1 October	Marx and Engels, <i>Communist Manifesto</i> , entire.
Friday 3 October	Kant, Hegel, Mill and Marx compared.
Wednesday 8 October	Concluding review <b>Sixth essay opportunity: Perpetual Peace topics</b>
Friday 10 October	<b>Final test</b>

### Course objectives

Students passing the course should:

1. Be familiar with some of the main ideas about international affairs in the Western canon of political theory
2. Be able to trace the basic development of these ideas in the Western tradition and to describe their context
3. Be able to draw on classic texts and on concrete historical examples to make cogent arguments about such topics as:
  - a. The nature of political community
  - b. The justice of war
  - c. The nature of sovereignty and political authority
  - d. The possibility and desirability of democracy in various cultural contexts, as well as the ethics of intervention for purposes of democracy promotion
  - e. The possibility and desirability of "perpetual peace"
4. Be able to make useful comparisons between contrasting views by various thinkers on any of these topics

### Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week.

## Readings

### Essential texts

- Brown, Chris, N. J. Rengger, and Terry Nardin. 2002. *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521575702.

### Distributed in class or available on e-reserves or on the internet

All other readings will be either distributed in class, available through e-reserves, or freely available on the internet. These are:

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, available at <http://classicpersuasion.org/pw/thucydides/thucydides-jowettoc-b.htm>
- Aristotle, *Politics*, available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.html>
- Cicero, *On the Republic* and *On Duties*. *On the Republic* is available on e-reserve; *On Duties* is available at [http://www.constitution.org/rom/de\\_officiis.htm](http://www.constitution.org/rom/de_officiis.htm)
- Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/>
- Vitoria, *On the American Indians*, available at [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/De\\_Indis\\_De\\_Jure\\_Belli/](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/De_Indis_De_Jure_Belli/)
- Machiavelli, *The Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*, available at <http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince00.htm> and <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/machiavelli/niccolo/m149d/>
- Hobbes, *Leviathan*, available at <http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/hobbes/leviathan-contents.html>
- Rousseau, *Second Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*, available at <http://records.viu.ca/~Johnstoi/rousseau/seconddiscourse.htm>
- Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, available at [http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john\\_stuart/m645r/](http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/m645r/)
- Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, available at <http://www.constitution.org/kant/perpeace.htm>
- Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, available at <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/pr/prconten.htm>
- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, available at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>

The textbook is also available on closed (2 hour) reserve or 3-day reserve at the library.

Textbooks can be purchased from Vicbooks located on the top floor of the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. You may be able to find cheaper books online, however.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515

### **Recommended Reading:**

A list of recommended readings is available on the bibliography page and on the various theme pages of the course wiki.

### **Assessment requirements**

Assessment for this course has three major components:

1. Two out of six possible short essays (around 1000 words each), due on the dates specified in the schedule above (50%, or 25% each). You may submit all six essays (or however many you wish to submit); your grade for this component will consist of the grades for your two best essays. **One of the two essays must be submitted before the midterm break (i.e., it must be submitted at one of the first three opportunities for essays).**
2. Participation in the course wiki, either in the main pages or in the discussion sections (25%). **You may opt-out** of participating in the wiki by completing an additional essay (for a total of three essays; you may still submit all six, for the best three), but you must notify the instructor in advance.
3. A final in-class test (25%).

Your grade may also be ultimately adjusted upwards (not downwards) by a small amount for enthusiastic and useful participation in course activities or discussions, either in lecture or during tutorials.

### **Short essays**

#### **Ancient conceptions of politics**

**Due date: Friday 1 August, via e-mail before lecture**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- Thucydides. How does Thucydides conceive of the role of justice among political communities?
- Aristotle. Does Aristotle think that Barbarians are natural slaves, and if so, does he think Greeks should rule over them? Provide evidence both pro and con, and decide the question on the basis of the preponderance of the evidence.
- Aristotle. Describe [Aristotle's](#) principles for the construction of his "best regime" and evaluate a modern democratic country (such as New Zealand) in light of them. What does this comparison tell us about [Aristotle's](#) conception of political community? What does it tell us about our conception of political community?
- Cicero. How does Cicero's conception of the political community and of the proper relationships among political communities differ from Aristotle's? Does Cicero's view constitute an improvement over Aristotle's view?

#### **Just war**

**Due date: Friday 8 August, via e-mail before lecture**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- Write a question in the style of Thomas Aquinas (with objections, your response, and the replies to the objections) on the topic of whether it is ever just to go to war. If you disagree with Aquinas, the objections to your response should come from Aquinas' arguments; if you agree with Aquinas, the objections should come from Erasmus's arguments. Your own response need not draw on either Aquinas or Erasmus, though it can make reference to their arguments.
- Is it possible to argue for just war (or for pacifism) without drawing on Christian presuppositions? Discuss either Erasmus's or Aquinas's arguments about the justice of war and determine whether or not they are good arguments if we do not accept Christian doctrine. Can they be modified in ways that make them independent of Christianity?
- Evaluate the usefulness of just war theory. Is just war theory merely an attempt to rationalize *ex post* all manner of crimes, as Erasmus argues? Or is just war theory necessary for regulating an ineradicable practice? Examine the arguments of Vitoria on the justice of making war on the Indians of the Americas to make your case.
- Do Vitoria's arguments about the possible titles to rule of the Spanish in America legitimize the Spanish conquest of the Americas or condemn it? Under what conditions would they legitimize/delegitimize it? Would they have justified European settlement of New Zealand? Why or why not? You may present your response in the form of a question (like Vitoria's), with objections, your response, and replies to the objections.
- Write a question in the style of Thomas Aquinas (with objections, your response, and the replies to the objections) on the topic of whether a particular war (e.g., the Iraq war) or a particular episode in a war (e.g., the firebombing of Dresden) is just. Draw on arguments from Aquinas, Erasmus, and Vitoria.

**New conceptions of politics**

**Due date: Monday 18 August (first day of midterm break), via e-mail before 5:00 pm.**

**Note that you must complete at least one essay before the midterm break!**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- Does Machiavelli advocate "immoral" means in politics and war? Present specific textual evidence, pro and con. How does Machiavelli's view of politics differ from ancient and Christian views of politics?
- What is the relationship between Machiavelli's *The Prince* and his *Discourses on Livy*? Does Machiavelli advocate tyranny or do his sympathies lie with "free" forms of government?
- How does Machiavelli's notion of a properly structured republic differ from the ancient conception of a good regime (as found in, e.g., Aristotle or Cicero)? What is distinctive about Machiavelli's ideas about politics in free states in comparison to ancient ideas about republics?

**The state of nature**

**Due date: Friday 12 September, via e-mail before lecture**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- What is the purpose of state-of-nature reasoning? Drawing on either Hobbes and Rousseau, discuss the purpose of engaging in state-of-nature thought experiments. What do Hobbes or Rousseau hope to gain by such speculation? Which view of the state of nature (Rousseau's or Hobbes's) is closest to what we know about early humans? Does this matter for the arguments of the other thinker?

- What are Rousseau's objections to Hobbes' ideas about the state of nature and the transition to a social state? Are these good objections? How would Hobbes respond to Rousseau? Who has the better argument?
- Do state-of-nature thought experiments (choose either Hobbes or Rousseau's ideas about the state of nature) have any implications for our understanding of international relations? Does the actual conduct of international relations support or undermine any particular understanding of the state of nature (Rousseau or Hobbes)?

### **Democracy and Intervention**

**Due date: Wednesday 24 September, via e-mail before lecture**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- Evaluate Mill's arguments on democracy and culture. Is Mill right that democracy ("representative government") is only appropriate in certain cultural conditions? Is he right that intervention, and indeed foreign rule, is sometimes justified if the purpose is to promote the development of a country towards representative government? Under what conditions would Mill contemplate intervention in modern-day Burma, for example?
- Are Mill's arguments concerning the desirability of representative government in conflict with his arguments concerning the necessity for some peoples to be subject to despotic rule, indeed foreign rule? How or how not?

### **Perpetual Peace**

**Due date: Wednesday 8 October, via e-mail before lecture**

For this theme, you have a choice among the following essay topics:

- Discuss what makes perpetual peace possible, according to Kant, and noting both the strengths and weaknesses of his argument. Why does Kant insist that perpetual peace is possible? Would it matter for his argument if perpetual peace were found to be impossible?
- What are Hegel's objections to Kant's idea about perpetual peace? What is the function of war in human history? How might Kant reply to Hegel's objections, if at all?
- Does perpetual peace require a fundamental transformation in economic relations? Discuss Marx and Engel's arguments in connection with Kant's or Mill's arguments on the progressive improvement of humankind.
- Does it make sense to say that there is moral progress in history? Discuss the arguments on the progressive direction of history of at least two of the following thinkers: Kant, Hegel, Mill, and Marx. Identify the sense in which history is for them "progressive" and the mechanisms of such progress. Are these arguments plausible? What are some objections?

Each of these assignments is described in greater detail in their respective assignment pages in the wiki: **please consult these pages before writing the essay.**

Essays are to be turned in electronically before the lecture on the date they are due, via e-mail, unless otherwise noted. If I have not replied to you within a reasonable time, you need to assume I have not received your essay.

If you prefer to turn in a hard copy, you may do so by notifying the lecturer in advance. Hard copies of essays may be turned in at the beginning of the lecture on the date they are due, but you **MUST** also turn in an electronic copy. Essays may be checked against the Turnitin database to identify plagiarism.

All essays will be returned electronically with comments.

## **Course Wiki**

Studies show that the best ways to learn are active, participatory and social, rather than passive and purely individual. Part of your assessment will therefore include contributing to the course wiki (<http://internationalpoliticaltheory.wikispaces.com>). You are strongly encouraged to do this, though it is possible to “opt out” of this requirement by writing a third essay over the course of the term.

Your contributions to the wiki will be assessed on a weekly basis, according to the following scheme:

- 0 points. No contribution to either the wiki or the blog
- 1 point. Minimal contribution (e.g., proofreading a wiki page, minimal response to another person’s discussion posting)
- 2-3 points. Regular contributions (e.g., contributing study questions, answers to study questions, and other substantial additions to the wiki, raising or answering interesting questions in the discussion sections, etc.)
- 4 points. Exceptional contributions (e.g., major contributions to the wiki, excellent study questions or answers, outstanding participation in the blog, etc.)

You need to accumulate 25 points over the course of the trimester to obtain your full 25% mark for this assessment component, starting in the second week of the term. On average, therefore, you need to be accumulating 2.5 points per week.

## **Contributing to the course wiki**

This course wiki is your friend: think of it as collaborative study guide, prepared over the course of the trimester. You may contribute to it in a variety of ways:

- Add new pages with content related to the themes of the course, such as comparing views of the state of nature among various thinkers
- Post questions in the pages for each theme discussed in the course or in the discussion pages
- Provide links to external sources
- Add multimedia content related to the course (pictures, illustrative video, etc.)
- Answer study questions or discuss possible answers in the discussion pages
- Add entries to the bibliography and comment on those already there
- Summarize the readings in the pages for each particular theme discussed in the course
- Provide background information necessary for fully understanding the readings
- Proofread, correct, clarify, or reformat other's contributions

The lecturer will be an active participant in the wiki, posting material (including study questions) and helping to format it, as well as commenting on material posted there, but the wiki is ultimately a resource for the students to learn, and it will be only as good as you make it.

You may opt out of participation in the wiki by the third week of the course by notifying the lecturer in writing (via e-mail) that you will submit at least three, rather than two, short essays. The instructor will otherwise assume that you are working on the wiki, not writing a third essay. In case you plan to submit three essays, you may still submit up to six essays, but your final mark will consist of the marks for your three, rather than two, best essays.

### **Final test**

The final test is cumulative, integrative, and closed book, and will last 50 minutes on Friday 10 October. The students will answer 2 essay questions out of a possible 6. Questions will be based on material posted on the wiki, including study questions posted by students.

### **Statement on penalties**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- b) Sit the final in-class test and obtain at least a 40% mark in it.

**NB:** A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for a course, will receive a K grade for that course, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F).

### **Communication of additional information**

Additional information will be communicated to students via e-mail, and through the course wiki and blog; please make sure to check your e-mail regularly.

### **Statement on the use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <<http://www.turnitin.com>>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of

future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

## **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

*The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were ones own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.*

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

*Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.*

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct. All cases will be recorded on a central database and severe penalties may be imposed. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

[www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx)

## **GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/calendar\\_intro.html](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html)

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Academic Grievances

- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support